XVIII

Means of subsistence of the Mundurucu -- Hunting -- Cultivated Plants -- Wild Fruits.

224 The Mundurucu, living as they do among vast plains and virgin forests, being skillful hunters and possessing excellent hounds, owe their subsistence largely to hunting.

They also practice some husbandry which, though still quite rudimentary, is of considerable help to them. [119]

Many wild fruits also grow in the region, some of them excellent.

I will not enumerate all the various kinds of game which are to be found in those parts, white tapir, deer, wild pig, mutum [?] and the inhambu and jacamim birds occur in such abundance. I will, however, provide below a list of all the plants cultivated by the Mundurucu, and another of the wild fruits, with the corresponding names in their own language:

Cultivated Plants

[English], Portuguese or Tupi Term	Mundurucu Name
manioc	mocetá
sweet manioc	mocepean
large white yam	puerá erechache
large purple yam	puerá aniucate
small white yam	auairá
small purple yam	auauerá aniucate
sweet potato	uixiá
pineapple	para-ã
papaya	ação-ã
pepper	aium-ã
sugar cane	canipec
timbó liana	comopi
cotton	bruun-ã
maize	muirarã

[English], Portuguese or Tupi Term	Munduruku Name
large bean	weiteri
banana	acoubá
S. Tomé banana	acoreçempá
large taja	pão-ão-pão
mandioca	mocerá
reed	bepá
jamaru (gourd)	uiaia

[120] **Wild Fruits**
Fruits of the forest and bush

Para chestnut [Brazil nut]	bemaia
assaí	oaporeme
muriti [fruit of that palm]	inberepeá
bacaba	baruruoã
patauá	uadhu
uxi	taruá
pequiá	xaá
abio	anacareá
forest caju	berecerá
maracock? [passion fruit]	maracuiá
bacuri-pari	uaremeçá
sage	utuá
araticu	bocuboca
mocajá	uacuriá
anaja	uaritaia
copu-ahi	acarapá
pajurá	cobican-a
cumaí ([Port.] solvashinha [small sage])	iubaá
massaranduba	cirara-ã
forest cacao	uadherá
jutaí or jatuba	[sic]
copu-assu	acarapá

Fruits of the Field

jaboticaba	juhã
mangaba	uahua
field caju	hacerácacaá
axixa	etun-ã
muruci	quenhen-ã
marmelada	hura-ã
field araticu	bocubucu hàru
pineapple	ipará

Daú is the favorite food of the Mundurucu. It is prepared with Pará chestnuts.

This nut is quite well known, for the province of Pará yearly exports it to Europe by the thousands of hectolitres.

It is known in Europe as the Brazil nut, and contains sixty per cent light and delicately flavored oil.

To prepare daú, the Mundurucu cook the nuts, peel them, soak them, mash them, place them in a pot, cover them with leaves, and allow them to smoke for eight days. [121]

This paste undergoes a sort of fermentation and exhales a strong odor.

Then they mash it again and place it in a pan on the fire.

Thus prepared, daú keeps for a long time.

They also make another kind of daú from the same nut; once cooked and mashed, it is mixed with fish or meat.

The Mundurucu also feed on banana mush; yam mush; porridge of manioc flour mixed with amai; patauá; biecaba; and mauiqueira mush.

In summertime they drink a sort of refreshing beverage made from wild beans which they call ueiima.

They do not appear to use alcoholic beverages or to become intoxicated.

They are very frugal. When game is scarce on rainy winter days, they subsist on sweet potatoes, yams, chestnuts, daú, etc.

They preserve the flesh of game by smoking it slowly over the fire in the accustomed manner.

Uncultivated Fruits Native to [illegible] Region

Fruits of the Fields

mangaba	Hancornea [illegible]scens, Martius; apocinea fam.
jaboticaba	Myrtus caulifl[illegible]ra, Martius; myrtacea fam.
field caju	Anacardium [illegible]umile? Martius; therebintha[illegible]ea fam.
anima	[sic]
maruxi	Byronima se[illegible]sea
marmelada	The people o[illegible] Sergipe thus call the fruit of a wild th[illegible]b, which looks somewhat like the gr[illegible]ap and is of a dark purplish hue [illegible] it is edible, and considered to b[illegible] a kind of quince native to [the provinc[illegible] of] Alagoas. Cydonia?; rosacea fam.
field araticu	Anona cornif[illegible]a, St. Hilaire; annacea fam.
anahy	Leopoldina i[illegible]serialis cucurbitacea fam.

Fruits of the forest and [illegible]sh

chestnut	Pará or Mara[illegible]ao chestnut, Bertholletia excelsa, Hu[illegible]b. and Bomp.; myrtacea fam.
assahy	Euterpe edulis Martius; palmtree fam.
muriti	Mauritia vinif[illegible]ra, Linn.; palmtree fam.
bacaba	Oenocarpus b[illegible]caba, Martius; palmtree fam.
[123]	
patauá	Oenocarpus?; [illegible]palmtree fam.
uxi	Uxi umbrosu[illegible]s; crosobolanea fam.
pequiá	Pequiá, coffe[illegible] or wild coffee, Cascaria foetida; san[illegible]dea fam.
abio	Labatia reticu[illegible]ta, Martius; sapotacea fam.

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857 forest caja	Considered to belong to the Canarium genus. Burseraceæ fam.
maracock? [passion fruit]	Passiflora maliformis, Linn. and Wild; passifloraceæ fam.
becuro-pari	Plumiera insignis, Martius; casellaceæ fam.
sage	Lippia cinerea, Schelt; verbenaceæ fam. Brazil sage, Salvia fulgens, Cav. Mahl.; labiaceæ fam. Forest sage, Humeria sulsaparilha.
artico	Anona silvatica, St. Hilaire; anonaceæ fam.
mocaja	Known in Rio de Janeiro as "carauhal coconut." Acrocomia sclerocarpa, Martius, palmeæ fam.
acaja or marjá	Palmeæ fam.
cupu-assu	Deltonea lactea; malvaceæ fam.
cupu-aí	Leguminosæ fam.
pajura	Laurineæ fam.
cumati	Psydium albidum, St. Hilaire; myrtaceæ fam.
mamaranduba	Achras paraensis; Mamaranduba emarginata, Lacerda; sapotaceæ fam.
[126]	
forest cacao	Cacao, Theobroma cacao, Linn.; buttneriaceæ fam. Wild cacao, Theobroma guianensis, Wild; buttneriaceæ fam.
jecbá	Hymenoea stilocarpa, Haine and Martius; Hymenea courbaril, Linn.; leguminosæ fam.

TK offended. These spirit owners were angered when a hunter
625 killed an animal just for its hide and left the meat to rot, when someone ridiculed the game, when the spirit "mothers" were not "fed" by the shaman both privately and at ceremonies, and for a variety of lesser reasons. They took revenge by robbing the soul of the malefactor or causing him to have some accident.

Species of fish also had spirit "mothers," but these were of minor importance. There was also a "mother of fishes" which could be found in occasional alligators. As with all of the spirit "mothers" that resided in animals, only a shaman could detect in which particular animal it was located. In ancient times there used to be a "mother of birds," say the Pumdurucú, but a sorcerer buried her deep in the ground and she is still alive but can never get out. Wild trees of importance to subsistence had "mothers" too but these were rarely referred to by the Pumdurucú. The general "mother of the game" and the species "mothers" of the larger game animals were those that figured most heavily in the ceremonial life.

TK The malignant spirits were an important factor in the Pumdurucú belief system for they persist in Pumdurucú culture despite the decline of the rest of the native religion. In common with the Tupian tribes and the Jabuticas, the Pumdurucú believed in the evil spirit known as

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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possession of the trumpets by parent and offspring clans constituted a phratriac affiliation and served to perpetuate their former unity.

When the Mundurucú shifted from a patrilocal to a matrilocal mode of residence during the nineteenth century, the clans lost their residential basis entirely and their male members were scattered by marriage throughout many villages. The sacred trumpets continued in their role as residences of the ancestral and companion spirits, but they no longer functioned to protect and aid a unified clan-village unit. Today, the trumpets are still regarded as the property of certain clans, but their spirits serve to protect a multiclan village. The clan relationship that formerly existed between trumpets, clan ancestors, and clan members has become considerably attenuated, if not altogether lost. The trumpets are now considered the property of the clan of the man who manufactured them. In one village, no member of the clan that owned the village trumpets was in residence in the community. However, members of other clans played the trumpets and the village was nonetheless under the protection of the trumpet spirits. It is not surprising, then, that many informants considered the souls of the trumpets to be of greater importance to the village than were the spirits appropriate to the clan that owned them. The significance of the latter supernaturals will probably become increasingly dim in Mundurucú thought in future years owing to their incompatibility with the new social structure.

The Soul

The Mundurucú believe that all humans, animals, fish, and domesticated plants possess a soul, or *ebenebik*; the most detailed and most important body of belief, however, concerns the souls of humans. People have two *ebenebik*; one is the real soul, and the other is merely the shadow or reflection of the individual. The latter is believed to become transformed into the *aibi* spirit upon the physical death of its bearer, and the former leaves the body and goes to the afterworld. The real *ebenebik* is thought to resemble a small, black, ovoid-shaped pebble and is said to be situated in the region of the spinal column, between the lower extremities of the shoulder blades. Although it has physical reality, no one knows of what material it is made.

In spite of their belief in the immortality of the soul, the Mundurucú are not as worried about the fate of the soul after death as they are with the misadventures that may befall the soul during life. The soul is said to leave the body sometime after death, but no informant was certain whether the soul departed immediately or lingered in the corpse for a period of time. The soul of the deceased has three possible destinations. Those of men who devoted considerable time to the playing of the sacred trumpets, or *karóbá*, go to Karóbákai, the place where the trumpets were first discovered by the women. There they play the instruments and live well, for the forests team with game and the rivers with fish. Men and women who knew the ceremonial dances for the spirit mothers of the game reside in another afterworld, known as Upitcharü, or the land of the game. The animals there have human forms, although the forests are paradoxically thought to be

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burití palm and were fashioned in an extremely simple manner. The ends of a large bunch of fronds were tied together and a ring of vine was attached some five inches below the top knot. The vine ring was then placed on the dancer's head, and the leaves were arranged to fall uniformly down all sides of his body to a point below his knees. The garment was fastened to his waist by a burití leaf belt. The dancer's arms protruded from the sides of the cloak, and the fronds were pushed aside to make openings for the eyes and mouth. Underneath these cloaks the dancers wore the same raiment used by all the other men during the ceremony. This consisted of a burití-leaf crown, to the front, back, and sides of which were attached vertical strips of burití leaf. Bands of this leaf were also tied around the biceps, wrists, ankles, and just below the knees, and were crisscrossed across the chest and shoulders. The ends of each band were shredded and allowed to dangle. A belt of burití leaf was also worn, and long thin strips of this leaf hung from it to form a knee-length skirt. Thin fibers hung from the back of a burití-leaf neck choker to below the buttocks. The garment used in the *Arasarua* ceremony was identical, except that the burití leaves were first boiled in water and then hung in the sun to bleach white.

The instruments used by the dancers, called *kui*, consisted of bamboo tubes some 18 inches long with a reed made of the rest of the paxiúba palm inserted in the mouth. Identical instruments were used in a secular dance, the *Parasui*, but those for the *Dajasaparip* and *Arasarua* could not be used for such profane purposes, for fear of insulting the Mother of the Game.

After the ceremony began, five cloaked dancers made the house-to-house rounds day and night and were replaced after each round by fresh dancers from the men's house. There was an occasional intermission to allow the men and the inhabitants of the dwelling houses to sleep. Each round began when three cloaked men, dancing side by side, approached the first house in a clockwise direction from the men's house. Playing their instruments, they danced to the doorway of the house three times and backed off, entering the house on their fourth approach. After entering the house they circled twice around the interior and then left for the next house in the same direction, repeating the same movements. As they left the house, the other two cloaked dancers approached it, entered in the same manner, and followed the first three through the village. During the rounds of the five *kui*-players, the other men stayed in the men's house and sang songs appropriate to the ceremony. Most of these songs dealt with hunting and game animals, and some with fish and food-bearing plants.

The climax of the ceremony was the summoning of the spirit mothers of the game and their subsequent visitation. Some days after the beginning of the house-to-house dancing, temporary thatch walls were built about the open sides and front of the men's house. A great number of skulls of game animals were gathered and those of each species were placed in rows running east-west and parallel to each other. At the head of the line of tapir skulls was one that had been kept in the men's house and was considered to be the chief of all the skulls in the room. In front of the rows of animal skulls were those of two coatá monkeys. Their